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SOME NOTES ON ZECHARIAH 11 4-17 1

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11 4a. "Thus said "יהוה אַלֹהְי"

According to the Massoretic text we have here "Yahveh my God", an unusual phrase in the Prophets. The LXX has instead of "ΜΕ Παντοκράτωρ - ΤΙΚΟΣ. The commentators propose an original "ΜΕ Παντοκράτωρ - ΤΙΚΟΣ. The commentators propose an original "ΜΕ ΤΙΚΟΣ "Yahveh to me" (Marti, Ehrlich, Sellin, ICC, Moffatt). This reading is based on the parallel phrases in verses 13, 15 "ΜΕ ΤΙΚΟΣ "Μ

1 This chapter is regarded as one of the most original in the O. T. (Marti.) It has been a matter of wide discussion by the various commentators. Those to whom references are made in these notes are: Marti, Das Dodekapropheten, pp. 437—442 (1904) in "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament"; H. G. Mitchell, Zechariah, pp. 302-316 (1912) in "The International Critical Commentary" (abridged ICC); D. E. Sellin, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch, pp. 509—517 (1922); J. Moffatt, The O. T., A. New Translation, vol. II, pp. 476 b—477 a; also the Hebrew commentators of the Middle Ages: Rashi, Eben-Ezra, Qimhi, etc. Their speculations to interpret the events indicated in this parable, are of the same character as the modern commentaries. Of special interest among the modern Hebrew commentaries is Ehrlich, 188892 Mage vol. III, pp. 483—484.

For introductions compare Driver (1913), pp. 347-348; H. Wiener, The Prophets of Israel, p. 113; S. Bernfeld, פרחבי הקדש vol. II, pp. 504-506 (1923); B. Duhm, Israels Propheten, pp. 423-425 (1916).

² ICC, p. 811.

11 4b און ההרגה "flock of slaughter."

The word אַרְחָה is a synonym of מַבְּחָה (Jer. 12 s). This expression אָרְה וּשׁלְּה seems to be used for regular profane flocks sold in the market for the shambles. The opposite of this is apparently באַר בּוֹשְׁלֵים (אָרָה flocks belonging to the temple.

- 11 ז'א אַרָּר (וְלֵּהְ וְלֵּהְ וְלֵּהְ וְלֵּהְ וֹלְּהְ וֹלְּהְ וֹלְּהְ וֹלְּהְ וֹלְּהְ וֹלְּהְ וֹלְהְ וֹלְהְ שׁׁׁ Whose buyers kill them and do not become guilty." In this verse comes a description of "flocks of slaughter" with distinction of holy flocks. The holy flock cannot be slaughtered by any one. If one kills it he has to bring a sacrifice, בוויא, because he profited from the sacrificial property.
- is usually emended to האבריהן יאמר ברה יחה ואינשה is usually emended to האבריה. But this emendation is not necessary. The flocks are bought retail by many persons, therefore, we have plural, but the one merchant of flocks can supply for many. We have, therefore, to translate "and their seller used to say: Thank Yahveh, I became rich." Also here we have the description of the profane herd, that the man who sells it becomes rich, while the holy flock does not bring any profit to its possessor.
- ³ The prophet used the phrase, "Thus said Jahveh God, feed the flock of slaughter," not that he believed that the teaching of the parable had the divine sanction (ICC, p. 303), but because he obtained his position as ruler from God, being a high priest.
- die sich nicht verschulden," namely, they do not regard themselves guilty, as Hosea 5 is. ICC, p. 304 translates "uncondemned." Eben-Ezra, Qimhi and Ehrlich translate exactly as Marti. The Syriac מון אין, as the New Hebrew, may have the meaning "do not become guilty."
- ⁵ Marti, ICC with G. V. S. T., Sellin, Moffatt. The versions translate in plural, but it is a free rendering for finer diction.
 - 6 The expression "Blessed God, I became ricb," (Sellin) (not "I am

ולייה או איי ווישיה או איין איין. Here איין ווישיה is emended to יחללי. but also this emendation is not necessary. One shepherd is enough for a whole herd. The profane flock is not pitied by their shepherd while the holy flock is mercifully fed.⁸

Who is symbolized by the shepherd, and what is the flock of slaughter? It seems that the shepherd is one of the hierocratic rulers of that time, a high priest. To his hand was entrusted not only the holy flock of the temple, namely the priesthood, but also the profane flock, the common people. But while no complaints were made by the priests, in spite of the fact that they do not contribute anything to the high priest, the people had to complain. This is personified in this parable.

11 6 This verse is an interpolation of a later editor who explained the preceding verses. He was from a later time and did not understand the sense of the simple parable and tried to explain it in an eschatological spirit. 10 The word 1270 means

rich," ICC and Moffatt) served as proof that the buyers and sellers are not representing foreign authorities (Marti and Sellin). It is regarded as hypocrisy (ICC). But there is no proof of this, since it is not intended here to express anything but the description of the profane flock. Bernfeld אינות לכתבי אינות אינ

- Marti, Sellin, Moffatt. But ICC translates it correctly, "their shepherd." For the plural of the versions, see note 5.
- The distinction between buyers, sellers and shepherds has been interpreted as referring to the foreign and the native rulers (Nowack), the families of Onias and Tobias and the high priest (Marti), the native tax collectors and Ptolemy III (ICC), the higher classes and the officials (Sellin). It seems, however, that the story did not intend anything but a description of the proface flock.
- ⁹ The commentators agree that the parable tells about two different shepherds. One is good (vv. 4-14) and the other is bad, (vv. 16-17; ch. 13 7-9); or one is careless, the other cruel (ICC). They differ only in the identification of each of them. Marti thinks the first is Onias IV, the second Alkimus; ICC sees in them Ptolemy III and IV; Sellin, the shepherd of God and the bad shepherd, regarding the whole parable as an eschatological vision. But this conception is not certain. We have, rather, in this chapter the evolution of a shepherd from a good to a severe and finally to a cruel one.
- 10 Thus Marti; Duhm, Sellin, Moffatt, ICC, regard it as original. If Marti is right, that the verse represents the conditions under the Diadochs,

"possessor" rather than "king." Compare Ecclesiastes (5 s) מְלָךְ לְשָׂוֹה נְעָבָּדְ. Compare lugal a-sag-ga-ge "the owner of the field" in Sumerian.

11 ז' מודר קראתי הואר The other staff is usually translated "binders." But, how can a staff bind? We have here rather the usual meaning of this word in the Mishnah "to injure." The shepherd undertook the job. For this purpose he took two staves: one is "graciousness" in case the herd behaves well; the other is "injurers" in case they are stubborn. In the beginning the high priest was human, but not weak.

11 אַרִּחִיד אָת־שְׁלֹשֶׁת הְרֹעִים בְּיֵרַח אָחְד • 11 האַרִחִיד אָת־שׁלשָׁת הְרֹעִים בְּיֵרַח אָחְד

we may think that this interpolation was made in that time, while the parable is from an older age.

- 11 Much stress cannot be laid on the word "king," as the ICC does.
- 12 The reading has the support of the 6 (ICC). This is the accepted reading of all commentators. The Syriac has אביבו in v. 7 and אביבו in v. 11. The אביבו can easily become last.
- 13 Marti, ICC, Sellin, identify the traders with the seller and buyers mentioned in v. s. But there is no necessity for this identification. The trader is naturally a seller as well. The traders here do not play a harmful role but a foolish one.
- "Thus Marti, Sellin ("Verbindung"); ICC ("bonds," "unity," representing the relations with one another); Moffatt ("union"). This meaning of the word they derive from v. 14, where the breaking of the brotherhood is spoken about. But this verse cannot serve as an argument because it is an interpolation. The two trees of Ezekiel 37 1s-se have nothing to do with this parable. For the translation "Injurers" compare Rashi and Qimhi, and especially Bernfeld. Eben-Ezra connects it with nyung, Duhm "Eintracht."

garded by some commentators as an interpolation; by others, as removed from its place. 16 Neither supposition, however, is necessary. From the Early Babylonian legal literature we know that the shepherd had helpmates who were called Ka. Bar, Semitic kaparum. These helpmates were given by the possessors of the herd. The head shepherd is responsible for the flight of such helpmates. Compare YBC 5944: 18—21, I: Ni-id-na-tum ka-pa-ra-šú id-da-pa-ar-ma a-na hi-ti 5 še gur Da-da-ja Ni. Ag. E. "If Nidnatum, his helpmate, will run away for the damage Dadaya (the head-shepherd) shall pay 5 kors of barley." In our case the same happened. The shepherd caused the three helpmates given to him to flee.

The use of The first first first first shepherds," does not necessarily imply that they were mentioned before. It may be the usual number of helpmates in a large herd. The helpmates were designated by The while the head was called The root The means "to disappear, to hide." The causative means "to make to disappear," "to cause to flee."

11 s b, c רָקְלָּהְ בְּיִּהְ וְנִם נְפִּשְׁם בְּחָלָה בִי . This phrase does not refer to the flocks. We should expect בְּחָרָן, וְמַשְׁין בּוֹיִלְה בֹּי s in v. 5. 18 But it refers to the בְּחָרָן. He gives here the reason why they fled. "I lost patience with them and they detested me." The three helpmates symbolize the representatives of the people who had to assist him with their counsel, but also to

¹⁵ ICC, Sellin, Moffatt and others.

¹⁶ Marti placed this phrase after v. 7a. The reason for this speculation is that they translate THIM, "destroyed" and thought it as an action of God. But really it is the head shepherd who made his helpmates flee. For the Babylonian chief herder and his subordinate shepherds, compare RAXXI, p. 13, No. 13, where we have an utulium complaining to the king for a wrong doue to the recel who are under his hand. These shepherds were supplied to him by the owner of the flocks, the palace, for which service they obtained a certain garden. This was taken away by a certain Arwinm and caused the complaint of their master. Eben-Eura interpreted correctly that the three shepherds were helpmates of the head herder.

¹⁷ This is one of the arguments for being an interpolation or that it has been mentioned before. The interpolator, moreover, should not use the article as well.

¹⁶ For the D in DITEN 18 MSS as well as 3 & have | (ICC).

control him that he shall not use his power to the disadvantage of his people. The high priest did not like their interference and caused them to resign in a very short time. Soon after he changed his policy towards the entrusted flock, namely the ruled people.¹⁹

11 9 After getting rid of the controlling helpmates, the shepherd ceased to take care of the flock. Three results are noted: death, loss, and injury, caused by continual fighting one with the other. In the above mentioned text of the Yale Babylonian Collection two of the last events are mentioned, and the shepherd is responsible for them. A-na pi-ha-at ... i-za-az it ha-li-iq i-ri-a-ab (YBC 5944: 14—17), "for the damages he shall stand; and the lost ones he shall restore." The unfaithful shepherd caused all the damages to his flock. The national is applied to the lost by flight, as THEM in v. s. 20 This description symbolizes the anarchy which arose in the land through misjudgment of the tyrant.

11 10 a He cut off the staff of gentleness. This symbolizes that the tyrant ceased to show good will any more. He used only the staff "injurers," being always severe.

11 10 b—11 a This is an interpolation of the same glossator who interpreted this simple parable as an eschatological vision of breaking the covenant of Israel with all the nations. ³¹

11 וו b בְּלְשׁ כְּנְשֵׁרְ הָצֵאון. This is surely בְּלְשׁ כְּנְשִׁרְ הָצָאון The owners of the flock learned of the injuries he caused to the flock as well as the flight of the helpmates.

11 זונ אתר השקרים אתר. This word has been interpreted "those who watch me." But if the would watch him they would hardly allow this negligence in the fulfilment of his duties as a shepherd. The word here is either to be read "אַלְּבֶּיִים אָּתִי "who hire me," so or אוֹלְיִים אָּתִי has the meaning "who appointed"

¹⁰ The three shepherds have been identified with historical personages, kingdoms, kings, high priests, etc. See ICC, pp. 306 f. All these speculations are superfluous.

²⁰ Thus Sellin. ICC translates "destroyed." But in this case it would be the same as "the dead."

²¹ It seems obvious that a staff cannot serve as a sign of a covenant.

²² Marti, Sellin ("beobachtende").

²³ ICC, Moffatt, following Hoonacker.

me as a watcher." Compare the third stem in Arabic. But we expect rather מַשְּׁשׁוּשְׁהַ. See Gesenius-Kautzsch 28, p. 159.

Il 11 d MIT INT THE Hebrew text is difficult. How did the merchants know that it is the word of Yahveh? Is a faithless shepherd such an impossibility that this must be regarded as a divine event? It seems, therefore, that this phrase is an interpolation of the same glossator because he did not see the simple sense of the parable. The intention of the story is, that in spite of the unfaithfulness of the shepherd, he was not dismissed, but on the contrary, they paid him.

11 12 a "And I said to them: If I am good in your eyes give me my reward;" 17 10 M DM, "and if not cease." It does not seem very appropriate for any workingman to propose such an alternative. It seems that the original text was 17 11 M DM, "and if not I will cease," namely, he will give up his job. One was lost by a copyist. Since 17 11 had no meaning it was amended to 17 11. We have here the malicious humor of the shepherd ("If I am good in your eyes"), and the foolishness of his masters.

11 12 b "And they paid out my wages thirty (shekels of) silver." Commentators regard this to be a small payment to indicate the worthlessness of his work. They paid him the price of a slave²⁴. But this seems to be baseless. The shepherd is not a slave, he is not sold. Thirty shekels of silver as an annual payment is a great reward. According to the Code of Hammurabi (§ 261) the usual rate for a shepherd is only 8 kors barley a year. Such an amount of barley is surely less than 30 shekels. In an early Babylonian text we have a promissory note, that a certain man promises to pay in 20 days 2-4/5 kors of barley. In case he fails to do so, he has to pay only 1-1/6 shekel of silver (YBC 4334). We see that a kor of barley amounts to less than a shekel. Thirty shekels is, therefore, a tremendous amount as an annual payment to a hired shepherd. The parable intends to indicate the enrichment of the ruler on account of the people who are foolish enough to submit to all his wishes, instead of revolting against him.

11 וז a "And Yahveh said to me, throw it into the treasury." The word אַרָּהְיָה is a corruption for אָרָהְיָה. The ruler had deposited the money in the temple treasury, as was usual in all ages. The use of the contemptuous אָרָהְיִה "to throw" seems to indicate the richness of the shepherd. But it may be a technical term to distinguish a simple deposit from a consecration to God אַרָּהָה. The entire story about the deposit of the money is introduced to hint where this treacherous ruler hides the robbed property of the people.

11 אָדֶר הִיְּקֵר אָשֶׁר יִקְרְהִי מֵעַלִיהֶם This phrase seems to be a conglomeration of words. אָדֶר היִקר אָשֶׁר יִקרהִי מֵעַלִיהֶם is regarded the same as הדר "splendid." יקר is "dear," the same meaning. יקר does not fit and is emended to Fig. What meaning has "the splendid dear thing which I (or you) have taken from them?" The solution of this difficulty seems to be that "means the "wages" of an אָדִיר הצאן were the head shepherds like the Babylonian utullum, to distinguish them from the usual הושים. The reward of such an אַרָר is called אָרֶר like the reward of אור היקר, "hireling" in general. אור היקר means, therefore, "the dear payment of a shepherd."26 If the Massoretic is correct, 27 the whole phrase would fit in just after the words הבסף. It is more fitting for the prophet than for God to mock. The original verse was perhaps: "And Yahveh said to me: 'Throw it into the treasury!' And I took the thirty (shekels of) silve: (the dear wages that I dearly charged them) and I threw them into the house of Yahveh, into the treasury."

11 14 a "And I cut off the second staff, the Injurers." Even though he was paid he did not become more careful, but on the contrary, he turned out to be a merciless shepherd, so that even the "Injurers" were not enough for him.

11 14b "To break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel" is an interpolation of the same glossator. The emendation

²⁵ Thus & Kenn. 530. (ICC, pp. 818 f.). Compare Qimhi.

אַרי Marti suggested an emendation שלר. Ehrlich interprets correctly דְיָשָׁ from יְפֹּבֶּי, For יְפְי he suggests the Arabic ." "some kind of a herd."

²⁷ All commentators emend to app., Marti, ICC, Sellin, Moffatt. Ehrlich regards this word as a denominative from the herd approximation of the second approximation of the

of the commentators Diff. instead of with is not necessary.*

The glossator may have had in mind Ezekiel 37 15 ff.

11 15 a "And God said to me again." Compare Hosea 3 1 a. "Again" looks back to the words of God in vv. 4, 13. 29

11 15 b "Take to thee an instrument of a foolish shepherd." Here he intends to instruct the faithless shepherd to become very cruel and to exchange the cut off "staff of Injurers" for a harmful instrument. The broken staff could do no more than injure, while the new instrument can kill entirely. **

11 16 Here follows the interpretation of the whole parable: "Because behold I am setting a shepherd over the land who will not count the lost ones, will not seek the missing ones, and will not heal the injured," etc.

11 16 a TOP NO NITIFIED. The translation of this phrase is, according to ICC, "The one that is being destroyed he will not visit." Sellin: "Um das Zugrundegehende kümmert er sich nicht." Moffatt: "Who will not look after what is missing." All agree that TITIFIED should be read in the singular, as in the coordinate cases (Marti, ICC with 4 Kenn. MSS and 6). But there is no necessity for this. The meaning of TITIFIED is not "destroyed" but "disappeared," "fled ones" as in vv. 8-9. TIP here is not "visit," "take care," "seek," but "count." He will not count the lost ones, as though he is not at all responsible f r the loss, and therefore the plural is more fitting.

11 ופּל מֹרְבָּי, אֹרָ עְשְׁהָוֹ. Marti and others emend מְשְׁהַן, איוֹרָה אָרָרָי, אָרָרָי, אַרְרָּי, אַרְרָּי, אַרְרָי, אַרְרָּי, אוֹרָה אָרָרָי, which is not probable. Some other emendations are, מְבָּיְרָי, which is not probable. The translation of the phrase is, then "the one that is wandering he will not seek" (ICC, reading מְּבְּיִרָּי,), "das Verlorene" (Sellin מְבְּיִרָּי,), "the scattered" (Moffatt, reading מְרַיְּלָּי,). Although the meaning "missing" fits the context, yet there is no absolute need for the emendation. The "young" sheep is more apt to remain behind the herd so that the shepherd has to look for it. However, מְבָּיִרְי, מֹרְ מִבְּיִר (double ") which was corrected to מְבָּיִר The male is more inclined to leave the herd than the female.

²⁸ Marti and others with 6L. Against it ICC, Sellin and Moffatt.

²⁹ ICC, Sellin, Moffatt translate "take thee again."

³⁰ This is the opinion of some commentators. See ICC, p. 315.

11 וני אַפְּרֶת לֹא יְרְשָּבֶּרֶת לֹא יְרְהַּלְּשְׁבֶּרֶת לֹא יְרִבּא . The word "broken" is a technical term for injury caused by a beast (Ex. 22 9, 1 Kings 13 26). The Syriac has אַרְבּירוּן לא נעצב הכריהן לא נעצב התריהן לא יְרִשָּא. Perhaps נעצב is used here in the meaning אַרָּרְי, the following words being a marginal explanation.

11 וה מה הנציה is emended to הנחקה. "Kranke" (Marti and others). But why not הַרְּעָבָה? ICC and Sellin הַרְעָבָה. But why not הַרְעָבָה, "which stands sound on its feet," namely, he does not give any food to the sound one, and starves her? Cf. Rashi, Syriac הַּקְעָבִין.

11 ופּרָ מְלְיִי מְלְיִי This phrase has been interpreted as "spalten der Klauen" because he feeds them in stony regions, etc. (Marti). ICC translates according to \$351 "their legs he will gnaw." Sellin emends מבייהן and translates "Und reift ihnen ihre Stücke ab." But the Massoretic text is correct. The meaning of this phrase is: "And their hoofs he breaks up," for a sign to show that it was left from a wild beast. Compare Amos 3 12.

11 17 The prophet feels himself too weak to do anything against the tyrant, and satisfies himself with a curse.

The opinion current since Ewald, that 13 7-9 belongs to the same parable, is open to question. The parable by itself as delivered in Zechariah 11 4-17 is complete in itself. The three verses 13 7-9 may have been written by the same author at a later date after some reflection, but they are not organically connected with the parable.

Who this tyrant was is hard to know. At any rate he is a local personality, not an emperor. A priest, e. g., Joshua or Eliashib or somebody else, could well be the object of this sarcastic parable.⁸³

The following is a translation of the original text according to the above notes. Verses 6, 10 b, 11 a, 11 d, 14 b, being interpolations, are omitted in this translation.

ייניקים The Syriac has הרשיון ובידים. Since we have in Hebrew הפיף הפורקים. See Gesenius, s. v.), it is possible that our text had pur. On the other hand, שים may stand for בייניקי "tore out."

²² That Joshua had opponents can be seen from Zechariah 3. Eliashib was an opponent of Nehemiah.

11 4 Thus said Yahveh God: "Feed the flock of slaughter, 5 whose buyers kill them and do not transgress, and their seller says:

Blessed is Yahve, I became rich! and their shepherd does not pity them." 7 And I fed the flock of slaughter for traders in flocks. And I took for myself two staves; one I called "Gentleness" and one I called "Injurers", and I fed (thus) the flock. 8 And I caused to flee the three helpmates in one month because I lost patience with them and they detested me. 9 Then I said: "I will not feed you: what is dving let it die, and the lost let be lost, and let the survivors devour one the flesh of the other." And I took my staff "Gentleness" and broke it. And the traders in the flock who hired me (or who appointed me!) took notice of that, 12 And I said to them: "If you please, give me my wages, but if not I will stop!" And they paid out for my wages thirty (shekels) of silver. 13 And Yahveh said to me: "Throw it into the treasury!" And I took the thirty (shekels) of silver (the dear shepherd wages which I took from them) and I threw it into the house of Yahveh, into the treasury. 14 And I broke my second staff, the "Injurers." 15 And Yahveh said to me again: "Take for yourself an instrument of a foolish shepherd.

16 For I am setting a shepherd over the land Who will not count the lost ones, Who will not seek the missing one, Who will not heal the hurt one And the sound one he will not feed, But he will devour the flesh of the fat one, And their hoofs he will break off.

17 Woe, worthless shepherd, who neglects the flock! May the sword be on his arm and right eye. May his arm he thoroughly dried out, And his right eye entirely blinded."